5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

but rather an unaffected equality among all members of the community and a good fellowship and free association on that basis which is one of the most beautiful things in the world. The women share this freedom, and are engaged with the men in practically every activity that is useful in keeping the wolf from the door. Men and women fight side by side for a naked existence, and there is no submission to anything or anybody, except to God above.

It is a hard life, but the desert is a maker of men. Women may express their feelings, their joys and their griefs, but men are expected to remain silent and self-controlled, and magnificent Stoics some of them are. An old patriarch came to the Bahrein Hospital bringing for treatment his only son, the pride of his life and the joy of his heart. They had come a long distance, two weeks' journey. The old man had the light of a father's pride in his eye and the shadow of a father's anxiety was there, too.

"My boy has been sick for some time. I have brought him here for you to cure."

My heart sank at the boy's appearance. "Does he cough?"

"Yes, he coughs a great deal. That is the trouble."

"Does he cough up any blood?"

"Yes, he has done that several times."

It gave me almost the sensation of physical faintness that one feels when in an elevator that is shot down rapidly, to see that fine old man standing there and to know what we would have to tell him, but we examined the boy carefully first. There were large cavities in both lungs. He was far beyond all hope. The whole faculty of Johns Hopkins could not have helped him. "My

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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a family to each other, the way that old and feeble members of a previous generation are cared for without question or complaint, the unquenchable cheerfulness that no misfortune or discomfort can dampen, are a pleasure to recall. The same poverty that makes polygamy impossible forces the women to be partners in all the activities of the household. There are no secluded women in this community, and the result is a comradeship and mutual helpfulness and unashamed love between a man and his wife that are beautiful to see. They share the same poverty and the same hardships. Together they watch probably two-thirds of the children that come into the home sicken and die. Bedouin families are not large, but that is not because the number of children born is small. Bedouin women also follow their husbands in war and manage the commissary department. In times of necessity they take up weapons themselves and fight.

As might be expected, the standards of morals are far higher than in other parts of Arabia. An unaccompanied girl caring for her sheep out in the desert is safe in that country of poverty and equality, of freedom and simplicity. We came from Abu Jifan once, a whole caravan of us, to Hasa, a distance of three days' journey, and from among the Bedouins that were congregated in the neighborhood of the wells of Abu Jifan a girl came along to Hasa for treatment. She rode at a distance of half a mile from our caravan all the distance to Hasa and encamped by herself each of the three nights that we were out. Not all of the men of our caravan were Bedouins. Some were townsmen, and camel-men at that, with talk as foul as might be expected from birds of passage of that variety. The first night there was some remark about the girl off there by herself, the exact import of

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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spacious chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

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True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to eat on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

,21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in every-day life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

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The Badawin's Code

Chap. III

577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasír*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiáfa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhála*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chassib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [855] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 834 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

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574 628 Faleh bin 'Aamir, a Mutairi of the Mu'aha branch of the 'Ilwa, whom I have known for several years and with whom I have spent many a pleasant evening in the desert, has from time to time told me many stories relating to Arab hospitality. Among other things, he detailed the duty of guests towards their host which I recorded in my notes on 7th January, 1935.

Not only, said he, is there a binding duty of the host towards his guest, but such guest, so long as his host's salt (*milah*) is in his stomach (*fi battinu*)—which is always assumed to be three days and three nights—is responsible that no harm comes to the host from the guest's tribe. For example, A was the host of B, who quite casually and as an ordinary traveller, had stopped at A's tent and spent the night (*nauwakh andhu*). Next day B left A's tent (second day) and went his way. On the third day A's tent was attacked by raiders from B's tribe, and five camels and one mare were carried off. A then had a rightful claim against B and was able through B's intervention to recover his lost camels and mare.

In practice A would follow B to his tribe, however far away, and would lay his claim before him, or if B's tribe were not on a friendly footing with A's tribe, A would send a neutral messenger to B, and demand satisfaction.

Not only would B be in honour bound to make complete restitution, but he would have the whole of his tribe behind him if it were necessary to coerce the raiders who had harmed A's camp and stolen the camels. On top of the restitution to A, "honour" money or "honour" camels, would have to be paid to B. That is, the raiders would have to give an extra camel or two to B as compensation for having, so to speak, broken the salt bond between the two men.

SANCTITY OF WOMEN

562 587 586 In the desert the position of women is a far freer and happier one (if we except the hard life and privation that is their lot), than that of their Arab sisters of the town. It is true that they are frequently divorced. Such divorces, however, are not over-serious. Perhaps there is incompatibility of temper, or perhaps the wife has failed to serve up a tasty dinner for her husband and lord. It matters little.

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If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her.

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the management of the tent; she is *um al 'aiydl* (mother of the family) as well as *raiyat al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *leben*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's men friends, she is *Um al 'Aiydl* or *Raiyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warrak?* or *Shlaun um al 'aiydl?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant badinage is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite common, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be *'aib* (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is more immediately apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes.

She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be rallied, who uncovers her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the *markab* of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

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562 victory once more. On these occasions the men will go mad for
726 her, and if she happens to be the shaikh's daughter they will die, but never give way.

Should a camp be suddenly raided and overrun by a horde of screaming enemy horsemen, the Badawin woman has absolutely nothing to fear for herself. The laws of the desert hold her inviolable. Her men may be killed, her sons may have to scatter and flee for safety, but the women of the tent are safe. On such occasions they sit about in their tents, moaning and crying softly, but they know that the victors will not touch a hair of their head. The carrying off of women is impossible in Arab warfare. The victorious raiders having rounded up and driven off the camels and sheep, are allowed by definite laws to seize certain articles of property, and these only, from the tents. This legitimate loot includes carpets, coffee-pots and spare tents, if a family has more than one. They may also take food-stuffs if there is a plentiful supply, but they must leave one tent overhead for the mistress of each family and sufficient food to see her provided for a definite period of time.

No part of the personal clothing which the women are wearing may be taken, and not a finger must be laid on any woman. It follows that any article of jewellery which a woman is wearing is entirely safe, and so also is her camel saddle (*maksar*).

These rules are all very explicitly and minutely laid down. To break them would be to dishonour the good name and *sharaf* of the attackers who have to-day brought their enemy low. No one can afford to risk such dishonour in the desert.

Shaikh Hzam al Mashari al Sa'adun of the Muntafiq, himself a well-known desert warrior of the old days, told me that in 1917 (in the days of the Turks) he had cut down one of his own raiders who, in the excitement of the charge and victory, so far forgot himself as to try to take a bangle off a girl's arm, she being of the Badur tribe, and of the vanquished side.

Few such cases actually happen in desert warfare, however, but those that have occurred have been most severely dealt with, and almost invariably have resulted in the death of the culprit, who forgot himself and infringed the rules of desert warfare.

This inviolability of women in war has been naturally evolved

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during years and centuries of raid and counter-raid. Men always knew that to-day they might be top-dog and to-morrow the under-dog. It was but wise and natural to declare women sacred. The Badawin world valued wives and daughters above all other possessions, so the principle of "You let my womenfolk alone, and I will not harm yours" gradually became established. The rule holds good to-day all over Arabia. Unfortunately the fanatical 'Ikhwan, during the few years in which their influence was in the ascendant, a menace to both friend and foe in Najd, did much to upset this and many other excellent customs which are dear to the true Arab.

562 726

PROTECTION OF AN ENEMY WHO HAS SURRENDERED

The laws relating to surrender are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. Suffice it to here say that a Badawin surrendering to another either in battle or raid, or if pursued and overtaken, is safe and entitled to good treatment.

726

In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *Ya fulan ana fi wejh ak* (O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection). If he gets the reply: *Inta fi wejh ki, sallim saldhak* (You are under my protection, hand over your arms), the matter is finished, and the person who has accepted the surrender must go bail for his captive with his life. He has given him his *wejh* (face), and it would go hard with any member of his own tribe who harmed the prisoner later, and so blackened the protector's face.

The rules regarding surrender are very similar to those of *dakhdia*. The man who surrenders is in the position of a suppliant, and an Arab dare not ignore the fact. The only difference between the two is that when the enemy asks for quarter in battle, you may or may not grant his request. Once *wejh* is granted, however, the prisoner must be protected. A man who breaks this law is liable to a very heavy fine in camels or money, and he is never forgiven by his own tribesmen.

THE RAFIQ OR KHAWI

The laws relating to the *rafiq* and *rafiga* generally, are equally stringent, and are comparable to those of hospitality, only here the

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Limitation of Sanctuary

NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhíl* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dírah*.

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhíl* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *qasír* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhíl* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wejh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her.

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhíl* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illu il haq i sabbahu saba marrat.*)

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

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Chap. XXVI

In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found 723
en route and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on 725
an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'Arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadaiyanin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected 705
camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been 721
treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this 562
was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Ibn Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

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542 In these attacks the 'Ikhwan unpardonably butchered numbers of women and children. In mitigation of their offence it may be said that most of the women and children were shot down when the 'Ikhwan poured their first heavy volleys into the camps, preparatory to charging home, as was their wont, with the sword and dagger.

I have since had it on the authority of many of the then 'Ikhwan leaders that their killing of women was considered quite inexcusable, and many of them at the time felt deep shame and regret for their action. Some indeed of the more moderate fanatics went out of their way to spare and even save women and babes from their more fanatical brethren, while others deserted the cause of the 'Ikhwan and came into Kuwait. On my asking why they had so far forgotten their honour as to act as they did, I have been given reply by more than one, "We were infected by a great sickness, the Imám (Ibn Sa'ud) had so filled us with rage and bitterness against all mankind who were not of our faith, and especially those holding the Shi'ah creed, that we were literally mad, and quite incapable of forming proper judgment. We had again and again been told of the great reward that would come to us from God for every infidel we slew, and we believed what we were told implicitly. Nay more, we were promised immediate Heaven and glorious *hûris* there, if we were fortunate enough to get killed. Do not, therefore, blame us for those matters overmuch, for it shall never happen again."

Now that the 'Ikhwan have disappeared, or at any rate now that the movement has been definitely checked, and brought under control by the King, we may assume that the old Arab chivalry towards women in war or raiding has once again reasserted itself. The Arab of the desert says to-day that 'Ikhwanism is dead, and my own investigations and enquiries also confirm this. We must thank God that this is so.

I have myself such complete confidence in Badawin chivalry that I have for several years regularly taken my own wife and children into camp, and have left them there without guard or escort for days at a time, often as far as fifty miles away from Headquarters and on the very borders of Sa'udi Arabia. That they will always be safe I am quite certain; they are doubly safe because I leave them with Arab women for companions and friends. The Badawin world knows this and honours my trust.

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Ibn Sa'ud in 1929-30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under Ibn Musaiyin, Ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Ibn Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Ibn Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929-30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Ibn Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Ibn Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Ibn Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Ibn Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's wooing the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929-30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(b) The confiscation by Ibn Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Sharaf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Kruck* horses, and up to the 1929-30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929-30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

Paramount Shaikh—IBN SUTTAM* (from Shaikhly Clan AL SA'UDI, subsection MAJAD).

* Is also pronounced Shaikhan.

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Appendix I

703 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

196 (*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of 291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Murair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Murair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious 562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Murair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929-30 Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Murair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

camels to draw up the water, but the southern Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to either end of the rope which runs over the pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work. We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden hoops were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and late-comers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs about which the thirsty camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving away camels which did not belong to them, and restraining the more impatient of their own. Others scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were couched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists. Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the constant jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of lads, she dallied here till the evening.

A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains were camped under an overhanging cliff nearby, and they bade us join them and drink coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'ruf, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were indigo-dyed loincloths and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin Ma'ruf wore clad like the Northern Arabs in long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days' journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum and beans are grown there in a shallow valley, guarded by numerous stone-built forts and watch-towers, which look out across the desolate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for